

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ARA-10 EA-10
NEA-10 HA-05 /109 W
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O 160323Z MAR 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0068
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 00937

FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

E.O. 11652:GDS
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: CONTACT GROUP EFFORTS TO FINALIZE
PROPOSAL

REF: (A) STATE 054713, (B) CAPE TOWN 0467

1. CONTACT GROUP MET MARCH 15 TO CONSIDER THE TWO RE-
MAINING ISSUES WHICH MUST BE RESOLVED IN ORDER
FOR REVISED PROPOSAL TO BE COMPLETED: (A) TIMING OF WITH-
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DRAWAL; AND (B) TREATMENT OF ETHNIC FORCES AND HOME GUARD.

- A. TIMING OF WITHDRAWAL.

2. BRITISH REAFFIRMED THEIR STRONGLY-HELD VIEW THAT THE
PROPOSAL SHOULD BE REWORDED TO MAKE ULTIMATE WITHDRAWAL
OF SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL FORCE CONDITIONAL ON THE VIEW

OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. WE THEN REITERATED DEPARTMENT'S STRONG OPPOSITION TO SUCH A CHANGE ON THE PRIMARY GROUNDS THAT SUGGESTED CHANGE WOULD MOST LIKELY LEAD TO SWAPO AND AFRICAN REJECTION OF OUR PROPOSAL AND WOULD CERTAINLY NOT RESULT IN SOUTH AFRICAN ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL. WE ALSO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S BEING SEEN TO BE GETTING OUT OF NAMIBIA AND THE FACT THAT THE PROPOSAL ALREADY INCLUDES ADEQUATE PROVISIONS FOR MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER. GERMANS RE- STATED FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER'S PERSONAL AND FIRM OPPOSITION TO THE SUGGESTED CHANGE. FRENCH HOLD NO STRONG VIEWS ON THE ISSUE, AND CANADIAN MEMBERS OF CONTACT GROUP ARE SPLIT ON THE MATTER.

3. IN ANY EFFORT TO SOLVE THE DEADLOCK WE TOLD THE OTHERS THAT WE DO NOT OPPOSE SOUNDING OUT NYERERE OR OTHER AFRICANS ON THE QUESTION, BUT THE GERMANS, REMINDING ALL OF GENSCHER'S RECENT CONVERSATION WITH NYERERE ON THE SUBJECT, OPPOSED SUCH AN APPROACH AS A DEFINITE WASTE OF TIME.

4. WE THEN SUGGESTED (ALONG LINES REF A) THAT AN ORAL STATEMENT COULD BE MADE TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO THE EFFECT THAT: IF, AFTER UN CERTIFICATION OF ELECTIONS, A FAIRLY AND DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WERE TO REQUEST SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES TO REMAIN, WE WOULD NOT SUPPORT A SECURITY COUNCIL EFFORT TO CONDEMN SUCH AN

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ARRANGEMENT. BRITISH AND CANADIANS ARGUED THAT THIS STATEMENT LEAVES OPEN THE QUESTION OF WHETHER WE WOULD VETO A CONDEMNATION. WE REPLIED THAT WE WERE CERTAIN THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT WISH TO TAKE A POSITION ON A HYPOTHETICAL VETO SITUATION. BRITISH AND CANADIANS THEN SUGGESTED THAT STATEMENT BE ALTERED TO SAY THAT: IF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, GIVEN THE ABOVE CONDITIONS, REQUESTED SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES TO REMAIN, WE WOULD SUPPORT SOUTH AFRICA'S ACCESSION TO THE REQUEST. SURELY THEY ARGUED THIS WOULD BE IN KEEPING WITH OUR DEMOCRATIC IDEALS.

5. AS DISCUSSION ON THIS POINT ENDED, GROUP AGREED TO TRY OUT FOLLOWING SOLUTION ON CAPITALS:

- (A) NO CHANGE IN PROPOSAL ON TIMING OF WITHDRAWAL;
- (B) NO APPROACH TO NYERERE;
- (C) ORAL STATEMENT (ALONG LINES OF LATTER SUGGESTION ABOVE) TO SOUTH AFRICANS;
- (D) INFORM SWAPO AND FRONTLINE STATES OF SUBSTANCE OF STATEMENT TO SOUTH AFRICANS.

6. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THIS SOLUTION IS ACCEPTABLE,

ALTHOUGH WE ARE NOT SURE LONDON WILL ACCEPT IT. PRECISE
TALKING POINTS WILL, OF COURSE, HAVE TO BE PREPARED. IT
IS IMPORTANT THAT SWAPO AND FRONTLINE BE INFORMED OF
STATEMENT SO THAT WE ARE NOT ACCUSED OF GIVING PRIVATE
ASSURANCES BEHIND OTHERS' BACKS. END COMMENT.

- B. TREATMENT OF ETHNIC FORCES AND HOME GUARD.

7. GROUP AGREED THAT ETHNIC FORCES ARE ALREADY WELL-
COVERED IN THE PROPOSAL AND THAT CHANGE REGARDING THE
HOME GUARD WOULD ONLY SUCCEED IN OPENING A CAN OF WORMS.
GROUP, THEREFORE, AGREED AD REFERENDUM ON DRAFT TALKING
POINTS (SEE PARA 11 BELOW) FOR USE IN INFORMAL APPROACH
TO BRAND FOURIE ON SUBJECT OF ETHNIC FORCES AND HOME
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0069
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
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FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

GUARD.

8. WITH REGARD TO TIMING OF PRESENTATION OF PROPOSAL TO THE VARIOUS PARTIES, GROUP BELIEVES THAT PRESENTATION PROCESS SHOULD COMMENCE AS SOON AS REVISED PROPOSAL IS APPROVED. WE STILL THINK EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO GET PROPOSAL TO FRONTLINE STATES, NIGERIA, AND GABON IN ADVANCE OF SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA; HOWEVER, WE RECOGNIZE THAT THIS COULD BE DIFFICULT SINCE SWAPO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS WILL ALL BE IN LUSAKA FOR
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COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA MEETING. IT MAY, THEREFORE, BE NECESSARY TO PRESENT PROPOSAL TO ALL PARTIES AT ROUGHLY THE SAME TIME.

9. GROUP BELIEVES THAT, IF POSSIBLE, REVISED PROPOSAL SHOULD NOT BE APPROVED UNTIL BOTHA'S FORMAL RESPONSE TO MARCH 5 DEMARCHE HAS BEEN RECEIVED. SUGGEST THAT CAPE TOWN FIVE ARRANGE TO SOUND OUT SOUTH AFRICANS INFORMALLY ON WHEN THAT RESPONSE CAN BE EXPECTED.

10. FOR CAPE TOWN: WE APPRECIATE GREATLY YOUR ANALYSIS (REF B) OF SOUTH AFRICAN RESPONSE TO OUR REQUEST FOR INFORMATION ON ETHNIC FORCES, ETC. YOUR COMMENTS, WHICH WE HAVE MADE AVAILABLE TO OTHER CONTACT GROUP MEMBERS, WERE MOST HELPFUL IN DETERMINING GROUP'S POSITION ON THE MATTER. OTHER MEMBERS OF GROUP ARE UNDER IMPRESSION THAT THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN CAPE TOWN HAVE NOT SEEN YOUR ANALYSIS. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF YOU WOULD MAKE IT AVAILABLE TO THEM.

11. DRAFT TEXT OF TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH FOURIE FOLLOWS:

1. WE REFER TO THE INFORMATION WHICH YOU GAVE TO US ON 8 MARCH ABOUT THE HOME GUARD, POLICE, CITIZEN FORCE, COMMANDOS AND ETHNIC (REGIONAL) FORCES. OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN CONSIDERING THESE QUESTIONS.

2. THERE SEEM TO BE THREE SEPARATE QUESTIONS:

- (A) THE ETHNIC FORCES
- (B) YOUR SUGGESTION THAT THE CITIZENS FORCE, COMMANDOS
- AND ETHNIC FORCES MIGHT BE MOBILISED BY THE ADMINI-
- STRATOR-GENERAL "IN CONSULTATION WITH THE SECRETARY

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- GENERAL" (OR SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE)
- (C) THE HOME GUARD

3. ETHNIC FORCES. YOU PROPOSED IN NEW YORK THAT THE ETHNIC FORCES SHOULD BE REGARDED AS AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL. YOU SAID THAT NORTHERN POLITICIANS WERE CONCERNED THAT THEY SHOULD BE RETAINED IN BEING BECAUSE OF RECENT ASSASSINATIONS OF POLITICAL LEADERS, AND THE NEED FOR PROTECTION. YOU ALSO MADE THE POINT THAT THEY RECEIVE REGULAR PAY AND COULD NOT JUST BE SACKED.

4. OUR REAL PROBLEM IS THAT IF THE ETHNIC FORCES ARE NOT DEMOBILISED, AND THEIR COMMAND STRUCTURE DISMANTLED, IT WILL BE ARGUED THAT THESE CONSTITUTE TROOPS AT SOUTH AFRICA'S DISPOSAL OVER AND ABOVE THE 1500 WHOSE RETENTION AT GROOTFONTEIN AND/OR OSHIVELLO WE HAVE PROVIDED FOR IN OUR PROPOSAL. PROTECTION OF NAMIBIANS DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD IS AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE QUESTION OF LAW AND ORDER, WHICH THE POLICE SHOULD HANDLE; AS WE HAVE ALREADY TOLD YOU, WE RECOGNISE THAT THE POLICE FORCE MAY NEED TO BE STRENGTHENED DURING THAT PERIOD WITH APPROPRIATE SAFEGUARDS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PARAGRAPH 9 OF OUR PROPOSAL. THIS IS, HOWEVER, A DELICATE MATTER WHICH THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL HAVE TO CONSIDER.

5. THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL'S ROLE. IN ITEM 4 OF THE ANNEX TO OUR PROPOSAL, WE SPECIFICALLY STATE THAT IT IS FOR THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL TO ENSURE THAT "NONE OF THESE FORCES WILL DRILL OR CONSTITUTE AN ORGANISED FORCE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD EXCEPT UNDER ORDER OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL WITH THE CONCURRENCE OF UNSR." WE THEREFORE DO NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT SOME OF THESE FORCES MAY BE REMOBILISED, IF FOR EXAMPLE THERE ARE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF LAW AND ORDER IN THE TERRITORY WITH WHICH THEY ARE SUITED TO DEAL. BUT WE CANNOT AGREE WITH

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YOUR FORMULATION THAT IT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT FOR THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL SIMPLY TO "CONSULT" THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OR THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ABOUT THE MOBILIZATION OF THESE FORCES. THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE MUST

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BE SATISFIED, IN THE NORMAL MANNER, THAT SUCH ACTION IS
NECESSARY.

6. THE HOME GUARD IS A NEW FACTOR IN OUR DISCUSSIONS.
OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT IT IS TRAINED BY THE ARMY,
IS UNDER SADF COMMAND, AND WEARS ARMY-TYPE UNIFORMS, AND
THAT IT IS ASSIGNED SUCH DUTIES AS GUARDING LOCAL GOVERN-
MENT BUILDINGS AND MINISTERS, WHICH ARE ESSENTIALLY POLICE
FUNCTIONS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL
SHOULD CONSULT WITH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, ONCE THE
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LATTER HAS TAKEN UP HIS DUTIES, ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE

HOME GUARD. WHERE ITS DUTIES ARE ESSENTIALLY POLICE DUTIES, SUCH AS THE PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUALS, ITS MEMBERS SHOULD BE INCORPORATED INTO THE POLICE IN SOME WAY, AND MONITORED AS APPROPRIATE BY UN PERSONNEL; THEY SHOULD ALSO BE RESTRICTED TO SMALL ARMS. IF, HOWEVER, THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FINDS THAT ELEMENTS OF THE HOME GUARD ARE CARRYING OUT DUTIES WHICH ARE PRIMARILY MILITARY IN NATURE, THEN THESE ELEMENTS SHOULD BE DISBANDED OR GIVEN POLICE DUTIES. IT WOULD CERTAINLY MAKE THE WHOLE MATTER MUCH MORE CONTROVERSIAL IF IT WERE FOUND THAT ELEMENTS OF THE ETHNIC FORCES HAD BEEN INCORPORATED INTO THE HOME GUARD. YOUNG

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